PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICAN SECURITY CHALLENGES: CROSS CUTTING ISSUES AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

SUMMARY OF CAPSTONE PROJECT AND FINDINGS

Jessica Piombo, Ph.D.
Naval Postgraduate School

September 2012

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U.S. Naval Postgraduate School (NPS)
Center on Contemporary Conflict (CCC)
Project on Advanced Systems and Concepts for
Countering WMD (PASCC)

The Naval Postgraduate School Center on Contemporary Conflict is the research wing of the Department of National Security Affairs (NSA) and specializes in the study of international relations, security policy, and regional studies. One of the CCC's programs is the Project Advanced Systems and Concepts for Countering WMD (PASCC). PASCC operates as a program planning and implementation office, research center, and intellectual clearinghouse for the execution of analysis and future-oriented studies and dialogues for the Defense Threat Reduction Agency.

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INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

The announcement of U.S. Africa Command (USAFRICOM) in February 2007 kindled a flurry of discussion amongst Africa watchers in Washington and beyond. Debate largely centered on the implications of this announcement, the mission of the new Command, its location, and above all, how USAFRICOM actions would reconcile with those of other players in the region and whether the decision signified a militarization of U.S. policy in the region. The establishment of the Command was interesting for reasons beyond these debates, for it signaled important changes in how the U.S. Government (USG), particularly U.S. Department of Defense, perceived the importance of Africa to U.S. strategic interests.

With this current debate and attention, in October 2008, the Advanced Systems and Concepts Office of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA-ASCO) initiated a two-phase project to assess the nature of security and insecurity in Africa. The first phase was a two-year analytic effort, led by Jennifer Perry of DTRA-ASCO, with support from Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), entitled "African Security Challenges: Now and Over the Horizon." This phase focused on mapping the terrain of a broad set of security challenges in Africa and to explore their dimensions through a set of workshops—six issue-focused small discussion groups, solicited discussion papers that defined and analyzed the major security challenges in Africa today, explored possibilities for what they might be over the horizon, and identified implications for the USG. Reports summarizing each workshop/discussion group are available, as well as a summary report of all of the research and analysis conducted in this phase. The summary report can be obtained from the Homeland Security Digital Library of the Naval Postgraduate School: http://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=716016).

In the second phase, "African Security Challenges: Now and Over the Horizon Capstone," ASCO supported associate professor Jessica Piombo of the Naval Postgraduate School to oversee the production of a collection of essays that would delve more deeply into a set of issues that, in some cases, overlapped with the ones studied in the previous phase. This project brought together the works of several scholars and built on the findings of the workshops and discussion papers developed during phase one. Piombo commissioned a set of analytical essays that would consider eight under-studied security challenges that had far reaching implications for the state of the current and emerging African security environment. These essays explicitly considered how the issues manifest within sub-Saharan Africa at multiple levels of analysis (from individual to state to inter-state security) and also how the various issues intersect with

one another. The findings of that effort are summarized in this report. Individual papers are available by request, and there are plans to publish the collection in a special report or edited volume.

The overall motivation for both phases of the project was that before assessing the nature of U.S. security programs in Africa, it was particularly important to understand the complex nature of these challenges. Once the basic challenges are mapped and understood, salient points for U.S. foreign policies could be drawn out. Together, these study efforts have aimed to fill a significant knowledge gap about understudied and emerging security threats in Africa. In this region of the world, many problems lie outside traditional state security, and therefore it was felt that analyzing these issues could enhance USG understanding of how various non-traditional issues affect security and insecurity more broadly.

Scope and Overview of the Capstone Project

In the second phase of the project, the methodology shifted to analyzing a set of security issues at a deeper level, less explicitly focused on policy implications and more focused on exploring the linkages between sets of issues. Within each issue, the academic researchers were asked to assess how the challenge manifested at different levels, from the individual level and human security to the state/international level and "traditional" security.

One common thread through both phases of the project was that regardless of the issue being discussed, the multi-dimensionality and complexity of African security analysis made it difficult to issue policy prescriptions. Therefore, in this second phase the goal was to focus on the individual challenges and their related cross-cutting issues with the intent of gaining a broader perspective of how security problems emerge and manifest on the continent, but also to identify those particular analytic and practical issues with which government, the research community, and other actors within the region grapple to assess and address the challenges.

For example, the discussions repeatedly revealed that there were both traditional and human security dimensions which need to be assessed in each issue area. State-level security problems in Africa often stem from deeply-rooted human security issues that manifest at individual and community levels, such as poverty, inequality, and lack of opportunity. When combined with closed, authoritarian, or corrupt political systems (state-level factors), the ways that individuals attempt to deal with these problems often generate state and inter-state level security

problems such as civil wars and cross-border raids and militancy. Therefore, discussions of security challenges in Africa must address both the traditional concepts of state-centric national security as conceived in politico-military terms (arms rivalries, strategic alliances, defense and military training) and dimensions of human security, to include: individual security and human rights, economic prosperity, societal reconstruction and stabilization, regional organization development, and capacity building for states and their institutions.[1] This perspective of examining security challenges from multiple levels of analysis and focusing on the ways in which different issues intersect with each other became one of the foundational guiding principles for the second phase of the project.

Methodology. To this end, this project phase aimed to grapple with these complexities in an in-depth, cohesive analysis that would be useful to both the academic and government communities which are focused on particular issues and on African security more broadly. Building on several of the focus areas from phase one, the research considers how these complexities play out with respect to eight understudied issue areas, using integrated case study and theoretical-based analysis. The initial results are summarized in this report. The issue areas and authors of the analytic essays are listed below, followed by summaries of the main points of each essay. The section following the summaries pulls out salient points for the government community.

1. Displacement and militancy
   Sarah Kenyon Lischer, Wake Forest University
2. Small arms and light weapons availability, proliferation, and use
   Robert Muggah, Instituto de Relações Internacionais, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro; with Francis Sang, RECSA
3. Health, disease and human security
   Alex Otieno, Temple University

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[1] The classic definition for "human security" can be found in the 1994 United Nations Development Program report. According to the UNDP, the concept of global security should be broadened to include aspects of environmental security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. See http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/ (accessed September 21, 2009).

4. <u>Food security and conflict</u>

   Ellen Messer, Brandeis University

5. <u>Terrorism and ungoverned spaces</u>

   Jessica Piombo, Naval Postgraduate School

6. <u>Maritime security</u>

   Donna Nincic, California Maritime Academy, California State University

7. <u>African militaries in the 21st century</u>

   Herbert Howe, Georgetown University

ESSAY OVERVIEWS: MAIN ARGUMENTS AND FINDINGS

1. Displacement and militancy

This essay, by Sarah Kenyon Lischer, examines the displacement-related militarization challenge in Africa and its intersection with threats to both human security and traditional international security. It analyzes the current displacement situation in Africa and discusses numerous actual or potential militarization risks, such as theft of resources, attacks on camps, demographic engineering, the use of displaced persons camps as sanctuaries for militants, risks of escalating international war, and international terrorism. The case of the transnational conflict affecting Chad and Sudan provides an example of those displacement-related threats. The essay concludes with a discussion of how forced displacement and militarization relate to emerging trends in African security. It also considers the implications of these relationships at the individual, state, and regional levels.

Argument and Findings: In Africa, as elsewhere, human security and international security threats can overlap and create mutually destructive patterns, especially since destabilizing human security has become a major strategic objective in many African conflicts. Armed groups, in particular those that seek to control natural resources, need only terrorize or kill civilian populations to achieve their aims. The resulting massive displacement further erodes human security as the refugees and internally displaced suffer disease, hunger and violence.

A related security threat arises from the transnational nature of many African conflicts. Spillover often results from refugee flows and rebel movements, creating regional webs of conflict. These conflicts increase the likelihood of international war due to the use of cross-border rebel sanctuaries and resulting hot pursuit attacks. Relying on the porous nature of many African borders, such webs of conflict have flourished and greatly complicated resolution efforts. In addition, regional security threats from conflict spillover may have international security repercussions due to global concerns such as terrorist networks and oil supply. Lischer identifies distinct individual- and group-level threats for militarization among displaced populations.

2. **Small arms and light weapons availability, proliferation, and use**

This essay, by Robert Muggah with Francis Sang, identifies and considers issue related to the influx of such weapons into (and within) Africa and issues surrounding the demand for, possession, and use of these weapons in the region. It seeks to demonstrate how these issues inform the broader study of African conflicts and economic and political stability. Finally, the essay reappraises how small arms and light weapons control is both conceived and enacted in Africa.

Argument and Findings: Many African governments, multilateral and bilateral donors and advocacy organizations are preoccupied with the way small arms and light weapons trigger and sustain armed conflicts. Over the past decade the international community has initiated politically and in some cases legally binding norms and rules to reducing the "supply" of such weaponry to war zones and associated hot spots. Dealing with left-over arms, munitions and former combatants when armed conflicts come to an end has also assumed growing importance. Not only does armed violence undermine national security, but it can quickly spread from rural to urban areas, thereby threatening sub-national stability. What is more, armed violence can also move across porous borders into neighboring countries threatening regional and ultimately international peace and security. This is most obviously the case with simmering pastoral disputes on the borders of Kenya and Uganda and also insurgency groups such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) from Uganda to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan. Especially when combined with pervasive underdevelopment, an abundance of assault rifles, grenades and handguns in Africa are thus reconstituted as major threats to local, national and regional stability.

Muggah and Sang argue that, if security is to be enhanced, it is critical for African governments and their supporters to move beyond a rigid interpretation of arms availability in solely supply-side terms. The current focus on export and import controls, regulation of brokering and promoting border and airway controls on trafficking, while necessary, is insufficient to stop arms proliferation. Interventions must be expanded to account for how weapons are "demanded," that is, the multiple ways in which they are acquired, re-circulated and used. A particularly important entry-point relates to weapons diversion from military and police stocks, the distribution of weapons to armed groups and proxies, and the incremental, yet no less important, mechanisms by which civilians transfer arms for profit and self-defense.

Drawing on a new but nascent evidence base, the authors urge a more expansive perspective that moves beyond narrow supply-side approaches to regulating the authorized and unauthorized trade, including illicit trafficking and brokering. Muggah and Sang call instead for an approach that accounts for both supply and demand dimensions. At a minimum, such an approach would encourage more oversight and control over domestic production and surplus diversion and consider how the complex political economy of armed violence shapes patterns of weapons acquisition and misuse.

3. **Health, disease and human security**

This essay, by Alex Otieno, reviews the inter-relationships between various facets of security ranging from economic, food, environmental, personal, community, state (political) and international security and their implications for health and well-being in sub-Saharan Africa. Although dimensions of disease/biological security problems can and should be studied with a development and public health lens, a security lens can also be employed to understand aspects of the problems. Otieno examines how health issues (epidemics, chronic disease, etc.) create security challenges at the micro (individual) and macro (state, interstate) levels. In addition to broadly considering traditional African disease issues with this lens, Otieno also considers the degree to which naturally-occurring biological agents and materials may be viewed as a security issue and understand (if appropriate) the nature of that issue.

Argument and Findings: In this essay, Otieno argues that it is helpful to adopt a multidimensional approach to analyze the public health agenda in African countries and the security challenges posed by health and disease considerations. This approach explicitly links factors associated with health and illness at the individual, community, state and regional levels, rather than focusing on characteristics of individuals, such as ethnicity or socio-economic status. Exploring multidimensionality is especially important for understanding health challenges in specific countries as well as sub-regions where environmental and structural level factors (such as droughts and conflicts respectively) generate ripples of impacts that affect individuals, communities, and national governments.

From around the year 2000 onwards, the poor health status and the population health challenges arising from the threats posed by the spread of diseases in sub-Saharan Africa resulted in greater emphasis being given to the need for improved disease monitoring and surveillance. Variations in critical health issues within and between countries have also led

to the need for work focused on identifying the nuances in the manner in which specific factors are threats to national health.

For an example of these inter-relationships, consider infectious diseases, which destabilize communities through multiple mechanisms. These include: the fear of spread and/or panic of transmission; the rejection of or discrimination against infected individuals or groups; demographic shifts caused by diseases (creation of large numbers of orphans, loss of age groups, decreased life expectancy); the loss of productive capacity in the community resulting from sickness and death; the diversion of medical resources from preventive services such as basic immunization, prenatal care etc. Together, these often cumulate into increased poverty, loss of trust in government and political unrest, and loss of hope. Infectious diseases further impact individuals, communities and societies at large and epidemics pose a threat to states by interrupting trade and commerce as well as free movement of people. Additionally, because infectious diseases in particular compromise the safety of communities and societies, they have been recognized as not just public health but also a security problem. Thus, a multidimensional approach to health security is necessary given the variety of sectors that would be involved in tackling security implications of health challenges

The issues addressed in this essay are considered from the vantage point that all nations are likely to be engaged in addressing threats to health security anywhere in the world owing to the transnational nature and global consequences of events such as famine "…disease, pollution, drug trafficking, terrorism, ethnic disputes and social disintegration…"   While the issues in this essay are discussed thematically, the essay introduces examples of key incidences that have had individual, community, national and international impacts.

4. **Food security and conflict**

This essay, by Ellen Messer, assesses the nature of the relationship between food security issues and conflict-based ones in Africa and considers other security issues which need to be examined when considering the relationship between food security and broader African security concerns. The essay describes both general cases and specific examples that demonstrate food insecurity as a cause of conflict, conflict as a cause of food insecurity, and human rights violations and demands underlying both food insecurity and violence as root causes. It also shows how food and livelihood insecurity, especially in conflict-prone contexts, interact with other security threats, including climate change, labor-decimating disease, small

arms proliferation, and criminal cross-border economic activities, which render all these security threats more lethal and intractable.

Argument and Findings: Two questions that have long troubled food, security, and development experts are why sub-Saharan African countries appear so prone to food and other security crises, and how these multiple security threats are related. In this essay Messer argues that the use of food or hunger as a weapon and the food insecurity that lingers as a legacy of past conflicts account for a large proportion of these politically destabilizing food-insecurity situations.

Messer focuses, in particular, on the concept of "food wars:" situations in which combatants use control over food supplies as a weapon and starvation as a political tool to destroy political opponents and attract hungry recruits. In food wars, scorched earth and asset-stripping tactics produce both immediate and longer term food-insecurity, which can decimate agricultural populations and livelihoods for years.

Destruction of legitimate agricultural livelihoods, often coupled with recruitment to more violent occupations, are another outcome, with multi-generational social consequences that multiply into national political impacts. In fact, over the past fifteen years, 17 of 22 countries that the Food and Agriculture Organization characterizes as "countries in protracted crises" that combine extreme food insecurity with conflict and elevated needs for humanitarian aid are African (Angola, Burundi, CAR, Chad, Congo, DRC, Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe).

5. **Terrorism and ungoverned spaces**

This essay, by Jessica Piombo, assesses those issues which need to be examined to determine the extent of a current and/or potential terrorism threat in Africa. It does this by interrogating the relationship between governance, state authority, and the rise of Islamist insurgencies within sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter surveys the different types of radical and/or extremist groups that exist on the continent with respect to their goals, motivations and intentions, and includes a case study of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Argument and Findings: This essay analyzes the relationship between ungoverned spaces and terrorism in Africa. Piombo argues that most Islamist movements are oriented towards

and respond to domestic issues of economic opportunity and governance, rather than seeking to wage international jihad against Western influence. The essay includes a case study of Boko Haram in Nigeria, and includes extended references to al Shabaab in Somalia.

In the first section, Piombo evaluates the concept of ungoverned spaces. This section introduces the concept of governance without government, and discusses the reasons behind the various degrees of formal government and political control that exist in various parts of Africa. Understanding why various types of governance exist provides insights into the types of groups that operate within.

The second section of the essay then maps the ways that groups in sub-Saharan Africa have developed and operated in these different environments. It advances an argument that most of the "terrorist" groups in Africa are primarily domestically-oriented, better qualified as politicized Islamists and domestic insurgents, than internationally-oriented global jihadist terrorists. The few domestic groups that are linked in with the global networks have tended to develop in states with a functioning economic system and some semblance of political order. These states often serve as the places where groups operate in the medium to long-term, because here they have access to international banking systems, global communications networks, can move around easily and yet are still able to avoid detection by blending into dense urban communities.

Piombo argues that transnational terrorist groups (i.e., those not of African origin) utilize the truly "ungoverned" spaces, those without any formal authority, as places in which to hide temporarily, to seek recruits from among vulnerable populations, and as transit routes. The transnational groups tend to avoid spending long amounts of time in territories without any formal political or economic systems. No globally-oriented Islamist terrorist group has arisen in any sub-Saharan African state.

The one possible exception to this last conclusion, al Shabaab, presents an unusual case. Al Shabaab originated in a country that has had no effective formal state regime (Somalia) for over two decades. In this case, the group evolved from a militia that had been developed by the only government that had been able to exert control over a significant territorial expanse since 1991, but which had been dismantled by foreign invasion – the Islamic Courts Union. In this case, local Islamists view the international community to be actively preventing the generation of an organically-grown government. The essay argues that even

here, however, the primary goals are national – the liberation of Somalia from foreign interference. Because international actors keep the transitional regime operating, they become targets; the goal is not the international jihad advanced by Middle Eastern Islamists.

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6. **Maritime security**

This essay, by Donna Nincic, assesses the current and/or potential maritime security threat in Africa, including, but not limited to, piracy.   Nincic identifies the nature of five maritime security challenges in Africa at the beginning of the twenty-first century, and explores their implications for traditional, human and environmental security.

Argument and Findings: Maritime security in Africa can be conceptualized as encompassing five separate but inter-related issue areas: 1) maritime piracy; 2) maritime terrorism; 3) port and sea lane security, including maritime smuggling; 4) fisheries conflict; and 5) maritime energy conflict. In many cases in Africa, more than one of these issues is present.

Nincic argues that it is important to explore the "root causes" of maritime challenges in Africa from a human security perspective with a specific emphasis on environmental security. If the ultimate goal is to address maritime security concerns with the intent of providing options for viable and long-term solutions, she asserts, adopting foundational approaches which address the root causes of the problem are likely to be of the more value than simply focusing on the symptoms of these drivers.

Piracy is a significant challenge to African maritime security and global trade, but it is not the only maritime security concern in Africa. Maritime piracy – which tends to get the most attention – is actually increasingly interwoven with all other maritime security issues. Wwhile no maritime terrorist events have occurred in Africa per se, the rise of terrorist groups with developing maritime capabilities – specifically al Shabaab in Somalia – is, and will continue to be, of concern.

Maritime smuggling is an increasingly widespread: African ports are emerging as significant "throughputs" for the global drug trade, and local sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) are a concern for the transportation of illegal weapons and weapons components. Fisheries conflict in Africa takes two general forms: 1) Illegal, unregulated and unreported (IUU) fishing, and 2) disputes over access to fisheries grounds. IUU fishing off the coasts of West

and East Africa are among the highest in the world, creating stresses on local economies and leading to other security problems.

Maritime energy conflict and security takes two essential forms in Africa: Attacks on oil shipping and maritime infrastructure by pirate and militant groups, and unresolved maritime boundary disputes in areas of abundant oil reserves .

7. **African militaries in the 21st century**

This essay, by Herbert Howe, identifies and maps the changing roles of African militaries and considers how these shifts may demonstrate changing perceptions of security issues in and across particular African contexts. It also considers the extent to which, in some African contexts, these shifts might contribute or inform the development of emerging security issues which need to be addressed.

Argument and Findings: This study traces three military variables—political loyalty, operational capabilities, and deployment mandate—over time and examines how they have affected human security; that is, protecting a country's population from political, economic, and environmental threats. Great variation has always existed between African forces, but several general continental trends appeared between 1960 (and the start of African independence) and 1990 (and the ending of the Cold War). During that time, personal rule manipulated and weakened the military by structuring its loyalty to the regime rather than to the constitution and the citizens. The strategies by which rulers in these systems exerted control over their militaries promoted personal loyalty, but decreased operational capabilities. These tactics included direct control, personal (mostly economic) co-option of the military purpose from state to regime (personalized) protection; ethnicization of the military, and increasing the number of units while fostering competition between them. Additionally, rulers encouraged soldiers to seek out financial opportunities from their public positions, especially soldiers belonging to the ruler's ethnic group. In order to curb any anti-regime sentiment, the post-colonial patrimonial regimes would persecute those who did not comply.

Today, personal control of the military continues in many countries, despite the continent's post-1990 democratization. Significant and serious challenges remain. Tactics as wasteful procurement and personal cooption continue to restrict operational capabilities and human security. Many national militaries will continue to suffer from problems of corruption,

procurement, training, and health (all reviewed within the essay). Costly but operationally irrelevant procurement persists. For example, in 1999 the South African defense establishment purchased $11 billion-worth of combat and trainer aircraft, naval corvettes, and submarines, which not only are inappropriate for the roles that the South African National Defense Force undertakes, but also were so costly to maintain that by 2010 most had been mothballed. Maritime capabilities against poaching, piracy, smuggling, and disasters still remain woefully lacking. Airlift will remain a major problem for force projection, especially peacekeeping and peace enforcement. Nigeria and Ethiopia have limited strategic lift, but several countries, e.g., South Africa, have lost significant air capabilities, and most countries will continue to rely on western countries and/or the private sector for any sizable international deployment.

Despite continuing challenges, there are positive trends in the continent's militaries. Howe argues that three trends in particular may assist human security: Africa's drop in coups, an overall (although still limited) rise in operational military capabilities, and the greater willingness of African states to cooperate in humanitarian interventions and to engage in collective security. These should assist both regime and human security. The turn towards collective security (regional peacekeeping, the African Standby Force, and collaborative maritime initiatives) and the interest of many African militaries to develop disaster response capabilities reflect particularly important developments in African military cultures and operating stances.

The changing degree of cooperation with other national security agencies (often, police) to cooperatively secure borders and combat poaching in valuable wildlife sanctuaries represents an additional new trend in how the missions of African militaries are being developed, and reflects a changing norm of national security: away from traditional state security and towards the protection of critical national economic assets. These trends reflect a turn away from the state-based sovereignty concept endorsed by the Organization of African Unity towards the more people-centered security concept advanced by the African Union.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. Displacement and militancy

General Implications

The relationship between displacement-related militarization and the security framework poses many challenges in the context of trends in African security. Potential interveners will face difficult decisions and trade-offs. In easy cases, the twin goals of traditional /international and human security will complement each other. Policymakers will be more challenged when human and traditional/international security goals are incompatible.

In the more difficult cases, providing individuals safety from human rights atrocities and threats to their survival may clash with measures that would strengthen state security. This is particularly true when the state is responsible for the human security threats. Such dilemmas will require external actors to understand the causes of displacement and the motivations of militant actors before committing valuable resources.

Specific Policy Points

- ***Border control and cross-border violence represent one concrete issue area for policy action*****.** African militaries have the potential to threaten or protect displaced populations. Which role they take depends on the capacity and willingness of the state to maintain control over the border. Many borders, such as that between Chad and Sudan, are porous and virtually unguarded (some would say nonexistent), allowing cross-border attacks against displaced people and local residents.
  - o In some cases, the central state lacks control over its periphery. In other cases, the state willingly permits, or engages in, cross-border attacks against refugees. The issue of weak capacity is more amenable to external involvement by international actors.
  - o More effective border control could prevent the free flow of fighters (both rebels and government forces) and lootable resources.
  - o A humanitarian concern, however, is that states will use increased border security to deny entry to refugees and asylum seekers. Increasing state capacity should go hand in hand with training in international law regarding refugee protection.

- *The growing involvement in peacekeeping by African states also has an impact on refugee and IDP populations*.
  - In situations where the receiving state is willing, but unable, to provide security for refugees, external training and funding for peacekeepers could help protect the displaced populations.
  - The effectiveness of this policy depends on the role of the receiving state in the cause of the militarization. A hostile state, such as the government of Sudan, is unlikely to allow such protection programs, since the state benefits from the insecurity that affects IDPs.
- *Repatriation*, voluntary or coerced, is often viewed as the only feasible solution for displaced populations. The preference for repatriation is based on a largely unquestioned assumption that repatriation and post-conflict stability are compatible*. Yet, repatriation (especially of previously militarized exiles) may actually exacerbate traditional security threats and weaken human security in the home country*.
  - Given this, advocating repatriation as a solution for displaced persons must be done after careful assessment of potential consequences.
  - Additionally, actions to prevent a forced or militarized return will strengthen post-conflict stability.
  - In the wake of conflict, peacekeepers or other international forces can encourage return in a number of ways. Assistance could be as simple as helping with logistics (such as transportation) or as broad as contributing to post-conflict peace-building in the home country.

2. Small arms and light weapons availability, proliferation, and use

General Implications

Supply-side approaches to regulating small arms and light weapons tend to adopt common theories of change. Practical disarmament interventions tend to proffer incentives (cash for weapons) or sticks (forcible disarmament). These activities often generate far fewer returns than expected, however. It is useful to interrogate the concepts of arms availability and armed groups in order to account for the manifold ways arms are acquired and re-circulated as well as why and how armed groups mobilize to begin with. Such a reappraisal is essential in order to design effective security promotion interventions in post-conflict societies, including in Africa.

Policymakers concerned with arms availability often attribute their misuse and trade to non-state actors. Yet, armed groups seldom operate autonomously – they are frequently deeply interconnected with formal and informal political elites who are themselves integrated into clandestine rackets and (trans-national) systems of profit and power. Understanding the context in which violence becomes a viable (sometimes the only potential) option, and then understanding the patterns of supply and demand for small arms and light weapons is a prerequisite for any policy response to the issue.

Specific Policy Points
- There is ***comparatively little evidence that muscular actions to stem new arms supplies are effective in the medium to long term*** – certainly not unless they are combined with other bottom-up interventions focusing on the demand for small arms to begin with.
- In place of the traditional emphasis on focusing on arms supply, Muggah and Sang recommend the ***adoption of a "second generation" approach to arms-related insecurity***.
    - Second generation approaches seek to ***address the complex risk factors shaping security complexes at the local level***.
    - They also ***focus on enhancing the resilience of local authority structures*** – including customary institutions, tribal and clan elders, and village-level public authorities.
    - Second generation interventions are most effective when they ***harness public-private partnerships, work directly with civil society and design and implement armed violence prevention and reduction activities*** that are premised on identified rather than imputed needs.
    - A key innovation of these second generation interventions is their ***appreciation of the way local context shapes arms availability*** rather than the other way around. Second generation community-based demobilization and reintegration, security sector reform and civilian weapons collection emphasizes the importance of building on local values and norms associated with gun possession
- There are a number of practical ways to enhance security governance and ultimately reduce diversions and leakages from national stockpiles.
    - It is critical that African governments and their security sectors start ***implementing basic checks and balances and established management practices***. At a minimum, these actors must undertake routine and thorough assessments of public armories, including those of military and policing entities.

Basic inventories are critical and loopholes closed so that illegal transactions can be caught and reduced.

- o **Security forces require careful vetting procedures**, appropriate and regular salaries and training in basic accountability principles.
- o Small arms and light weapons control efforts need to be sensitive to the **heterogeneous characteristics of armed groups**. A narrow conception of these groups being motivated by rent-seeking misses a wider set of interests ranging from ideological and identity-based motivations to concerns over common property management, border disputes and self-defense.

3. Health, disease and human security

General Implications

As multi-level issues, the challenges of health and disease require transnational solutions that are best facilitated through regional and international collaboration. This approach to health security might be made most effective by multilateral and regional organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the African Union (AU) as well as regional economic and development organizations.

At the same time, it is important to recognize that national responses to health and human security threats have been shaped less by budgetary and infrastructure constraints than by conscious decisions by unaccountable or unresponsive regimes. The health and human security agenda has also been shaped by whether it is framed in terms of national security, foreign policy, human rights, or global justice issues. There is potential value in linking health and human security, as it may lead to prioritization of health equity, environmental sustainability and poverty in the global development and foreign policy agendas.

Specific Policy Points

- **Effective preparedness and response** to emerging or reemerging infectious diseases, epidemics, and the use of naturally occurring pathogens to carry out terrorist attacks include international collaboration and resource mobilization.
    - o The **creation of a regional network of integrated surveillance and information sharing** would be a first step in this process.

- *Specialized training* at national and international institutions for critical personnel will be necessary alongside incentives for recruiting and retaining health professionals in African countries given the migration of doctors and nurses to developed countries
    - A comprehensive approach to disease eradication that affects vulnerable populations whose susceptibility increases with malnutrition would have to deal with nutritional insecurity instead of a limited approach that focuses only on vaccination.
- *Addressing nutritional insecurity* has additional payoffs. Nutritional insecurity results in susceptibility to colds, infections, headaches and asthma attacks well as increase in chronic disease resulting in poorer health status and poor academic performance for children. Additionally, hunger and malnutrition are riskier than AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined. Addressing these issues becomes almost more important than simply focusing on vaccinations.
- Similarly, efforts to combat water-borne diseases need to consider both responding to the specific outbreak, as well as *addressing conditions that lead to contaminated water systems or situations that put communities at risk* (especially including refugee and IDP scenarios, natural disasters, and conflict).
- African countries have favorable conditions for disease emergence and reemergence owing to increased population density, ecological degradation, rapid transportation technologies, migration and low or nonexistent disease surveillance and containment capacities. It is therefore critical for national governments of countries in the region to take the necessary action aimed at changing all or some of these risks if they are to succeed in keeping emerging and reemerging diseases under control.
- *Effective surveillance* will require involving inclusion of sectors that have not traditionally been regarded as part of the public health establishment such as labor, the military and other security sectors, education, immigration, communication, trade and commerce to mention a few.
- *Collaboration among agencies and institutions that deal with health and security* under the leadership and coordination of public health or a special institutes (as deemed fit) would facilitate effective response to public health security events such as cholera, polio or Ebola outbreaks, thereby enhancing prevention efforts through production of accurate and consistent information regarding threats to health.
- *Health information and communication technologies* (ICT) can be used for surveillance - storing and monitoring data on the use and safety of biological agents in laboratories, transmitting information to health professionals (including guidelines in clinical practice

and recommended best practices), real-time decision support by alerting health officials about outbreaks of diseases or food insecurity patterns, and in epidemiological research.

4. Food security and conflict

General Implications

Food security should be high on security agendas and conflict-sensitivity integral to food-security planning. Joint efforts will require better coordination and integration of what are still separate food and security interests. In particular, food and security must bridge the division of labor between humanitarian-disaster and economic-development assistance that characterizes United Nations (UN) and other international food agencies. Analogously, conflict sensitivity and food-wars attentiveness must enter into Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Human Right to Food (HRF), and other food-security and economic-development planning.

Specific Policy Points

- The conceptual and institutional divisions between analysts and policy professionals working on food and agriculture and those in conflict and security pose barriers to solutions. *These two discourses and policy planning processes need to be better integrated* to account for the interrelationships between conflict and food (in)security.
- *Proposals for action should demonstrate conflict sensitivity* and/or pay special attention to political, geographic, ethnic, and religious factors that might ignite conflict in situations where people compete for land, water, and program resources.
- *Utilizing the concept of food wars as a security framework can help policymakers to connect food insecurity and conflict in both directions*, and from there to adopt more nuanced policies that do not exacerbate already-dire situations.
  - o One first step might be to *explore distinctive local African coping mechanisms*, and how people respond more or less effectively to the plethora of environmental, global economic, political, and social challenges underway. Outside assistance could seek to build on traditional social and coping mechanisms, while also introducing new options.
  - o A second approach would be to *encourage more conflict-sensitive food-system planning*. Analysts should document historical politically-mobilized political-geographic-ethnic-religious (PGER)-relations, map occupational structures, and

movements, and make sure that humanitarian or development assistance does not constrain, or if possible facilitates, such local responses.

- o A related step demands **attention to distinctive place-specific land utilization patterns.** Simple land reform or individual land rights are not a solution where landholding usually involves layers of customary hereditary and user rights, as well as state assertions of control over property, plus additional kinship, generational, and gendered rights of control over land, labor, water, and product.

5. Terrorism and ungoverned spaces

General Implications

Mapping terrorism and terrorist movements onto the dynamic of ungoverned spaces and simply conceiving of governance in physical terms, mis-diagnoses the origins of many of the Islamist movements in sub-Saharan Africa and how they operate in African societies. Because "terrorism" in sub-Saharan Africa is often a form of protest against exploitive governments, combating terrorism requires a larger approach than simply building capacity in security agencies (militaries, police, intelligence, etc.) to identify and capture "terrorist" groups and leaders.

A more appropriate comprehensive approach involves aspects of promoting accountable and inclusive governance, effective extension of state authority, promotion of political inclusion and economic opportunity, and the development of security agencies that are not manipulable by political agendas or open to societal penetration from below.

Specific Policy Points

- **Counter-terrorism programs** aimed at increasing security capacity **must be embedded within a responsive governance framework**.
- Programs to **increase economic opportunities** and progress will help reduce the conditions that lead to radicalization in the first place.
- International actors need to continue to remain cognizant of the opportunities provided by their counter-terrorism programs and the incentives these create for governments to label political opposition terrorist.
- Programs that destroy locally-grown systems of governance may open space for radicalization.

- Most cases of African "terrorism" are not like al Shabaab in Somalia; sensitivity to local dynamics and motivations is critical in developing appropriate programs.
- ***Multi-faceted programs*** like the Trans Sahel Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) have a greater chance of addressing the governance and economic challenges that create Islamism than the more limited efforts like those of the Combined Joint Task Force, Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA). The former is truly a whole of government effort, while the latter is primarily a military endeavor that attempts to build in civilian coordination.

6. Maritime security

General Implications

The professional and academic communities must do better at addressing the interrelationships between maritime security challenges as part of their recommended policies and solutions; and to view the whole of these concerns in the context of the human security construct, rather than as traditional security threats. Maritime security concerns are highly interlinked with each other and with many other security challenges in sub-Saharan Africa; as such their solutions should be addressed in an interlinked manner drawing, as appropriate, from both traditional and human security approaches

Specific Policy Points

- The close links between the categories of maritime security challenges suggest that that ***coordination between agencies working in the distinct fields of counter-piracy, counter-terrorism and illegal trafficking is necessary***.
- ***Capacity building in port security and efficient operations, and infrastructural development should be a high priority for USG and other actors***.
  - African countries have the least efficient ports in the world, suffering from poor maintenance, infrastructure limitations, bureaucratic red tape, inadequate law enforcement, and lax security.
  - Lax port controls and ineffective or non-existent patrolling of territorial waters have led to the use of some African ports as entry points for the drug trade from Latin and South America into Europe.
- Efforts to curb maritime piracy by patrolling the seas have seen some progress, and should continue. There are, however, some ***possible scenarios that international actors***

should be prepared for, if successful attacks continue to decrease. These include the potential that:

- o Piracy may well become more violent against ships' crews as a form of retaliation/desperation;
- o Pirate gangs may begin to turn on each other in "turf wars," creating more violence within the country;
- o Pirates may become co-opted by the rising extremist movements on land (for example, al Shabaab and Hizbul Islam); while
- o Less successful pirates may begin to opt out of piracy, and return to their subsistence livings (this would be a positive development, of course).

- *Capacity building within African navy and littoral forces should continue*.
  - o Improvements in the ability to patrol maritime exclusive economic zones (EEZs) will help to ameliorate other conditions affecting maritime security – such as illegal fishing, smuggling (drugs, weapons, people), and threats to environmental security from oil bunkering.

- At the same time, *land-based efforts to ameliorate the causes that make piracy an attractive option need to be increased*. These fall in the realm of
  - o Economic development;
  - o Protecting fisheries and other maritime resources that pirates (initially) seek to defend; and
  - o Improving political climates in countries where pirates are, in part, protesting domestic policies (such as in the Niger Delta).

- *Important distinctions between the drivers and consequences of piracy in the Gulf of Aden and Gulf of Guinea* should be considered when developing maritime piracy programs.
  - o There is a stronger link between terrorist groups and piracy in East Africa than West.
  - o Western African piracy, especially off the Nigerian coastline, tends to focused on small ships involved in oil exploration, as opposed to East Africa, where larger merchant ships are the primary (though obviously not sole) targets.
  - o Unlike Somalia, where the motives for piracy to date have been exclusively financial, the reasons for maritime piracy in Nigeria have been more complex, in that the pirates seek political objectives as well as financial gain. However, as in Somalia, the piracy problem is rooted in part in a lack of economic opportunity.

- o Because West African governments are much stronger than the Somali transitional government, the ability of the international community to intervene in maritime piracy – really, any maritime conflict – in the Gulf of Guinea is much more circumscribed.
- Careful ***attention needs to be paid to emerging trends in maritime terrorism***. There have been few maritime terrorist attacks, but maritime resources have been exploited by extremist groups, which have utilized shipping lanes to transport people, ammunitions, money and explosives.
  - o Some groups, such as al Shabaab and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (not formally rated a terrorist group by the USG) have sought to generate maritime capabilities either on their own or by working with pirate groups.
- In regions already under threat by maritime piracy and fisheries violations, ***situations can become more dangerous and fragile if pirate-terrorist links, or links between terrorist groups, deepen.***
  - o Some terrorist groups claim to be addressing human and environmental security issues. Hizbul Islam in Somalia, for example, draws a direct connection between fisheries depletion due to IIU fishing and maritime crime in the country. It has claimed that international anti-piracy patrols protecting vessels from pirate attack are actually protecting – inter alia – trawlers looting Somali fish stocks, and are therefore contributing to the environmental devastation of the country. This provides some measure of local legitimacy to the group, and demonstrates the interrelated nature of the problem, requiring a comprehensive approach to address it.

7. African militaries in the 21st century

General Implications

First and foremost, a state's *political nature* influences, but does not determine, the professionalism of its military. Democratization and its values of meritocracy, transparency, and accountability can (a) assist loyalty to the constitution and the citizenry, (b) promote more rational defense budgets and promotions, (c) encourage proper military behavior toward the citizenry, and (d) attract more foreign training and matériel.

In sub-Saharan Africa political democratization has achieved limited gains, including greater political accountability and fewer military coups. But democratization has not yet consolidated itself, and personal rulers often drape themselves with democratic trappings, retaining inordinate power over still weak, countervailing institutions. These conditions continue to deeply influence the functioning of African militaries.

Specific Policy Points

- *Security sector reform programs must attempt to adapt themselves to the nature of the regime in which they are being enacted*.
    - If possible, *governance reforms should pre-date military training*. Without this, the system of rule is likely to undermine the ability to create greater operational readiness, fight military corruption, and create capable military forces that will be used to protect public goods.
    - If governance reforms cannot be carried out before military training programs begin, then *security sector programs should be designed with specific ways to help militaries to insulate themselves from political meddling*, without creating militaries that are unbound by civilian authority. Whether this is possible is something that requires additional research and investigation.
- Effective civilian oversight requires specialized knowledge of the military, which African civil society lacks. Therefore, *investing in educating civilian sectors about military roles and procedures could serve as a way to help reduce the accountability and oversight gap.*
- *Increasing a military's operational capabilities may sharpen a two-edged sword*, since transferring technology often means losing control of how it will be used. ACOTA's political criteria, e.g., requiring a state to be democratizing, are commendable, but a future and less democratic regime could use the ACOTA-furnished skills and equipment to endanger human security.
- *Providing counterterrorist capabilities to "antiterrorist" or mineral-rich repressive governments could also hurt the population*.
- Finally, supplier nations may need to balance a domestic-regional dilemma: *upgrading an armed force's capabilities to defend a liberalizing government may also assist the same force to invade a neighboring state* (c.f. Rwanda's repeated invasions into the DRC).

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